

Nobody can go back and change anything about the past. All we can do is go forward. As Leonard points out in another poem: *Let us forgive the worst among us, because the worst is in ourselves, the worst lives in each of us, along with the best.*

To free the nations and free the people and the land, we must begin by freeing ourselves. Our traditional spirituality is a liberating force. The Indian nations had no prisons before the Europeans came. We didn't have much of a crime problem either. From this we know that the problem of crime is a product of the exploitative political economy. The very same people who have committed crimes in this society would not have done so if they'd been raised in a healthy non-exploitative society.

We have healing and uplifting work to do with ourselves and each other, but it will be by bringing the epoch of exploitation to an end that we will put an end to crime and social dysfunction. Meanwhile, we've got a generation to "decriminalize." In place of "gangsta" culture, we can offer the youth the option of becoming a traditional warrior and the task of nation building.

MAY CREATOR STAND US TALL!

A'hol

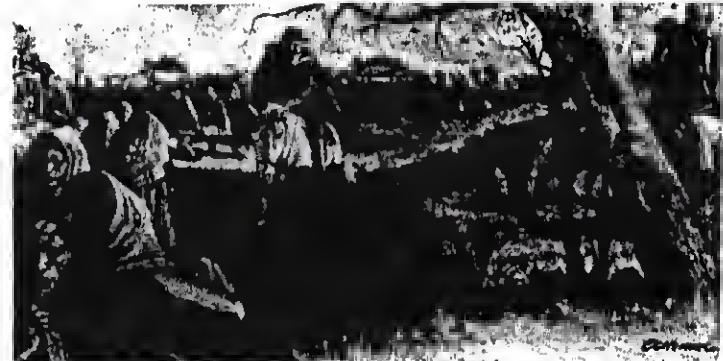


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**America: A Prison House of Nations & A Nation of Prisons**  
By Tom Big Warrior, June 11, 2003



Brummett Echohawk (Pawnee artist), "Trail of Tears," 1957

The United States of America is a colonial-settler nation occupying the homelands of hundreds of indigenous nations. From the 1600s on, it has been colonial policy to dispossess the indigenous peoples and confine them to concentration camps called "Reservations." The earliest I know of was for the Quinnipiac Lenapes in Connecticut.

The Quinnipiac country was claimed by England by right of the Cabot discovery. Also, the area fell within the grant made by the Earl of Warwick to friends of Davenport and Eaton. But since the English lacked a title they felt obliged to negotiate with the Quinnipiac in a series of treaties.

The first and most crucial treaty was signed on November 24, 1638. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton represented the colonists. The tribe was represented by Momauguin, sachem of the Quinnipiac band at the New Haven harbor, his sister Shaumpishuh, and his councilors Sugcogisin, Quesaqunash, Carroughood and Wesaucucke.

The Quinnipiac sold to Governor Eaton and his company of settlers all of their "pretended right" (according to the English) to a ten-mile square territory which embraced both sides of the New Haven harbor and the Quinnipiac River.

In return for the Quinnipiac's land, the English pledged to aid the natives in defending themselves from "wrong or harm" and supplied the following: twelve coats of English trading cloth, twelve "alchymy spoons," twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissors.

In addition, the treaty declared Momauguin the sole sachem of Quinnipiac. The English also agreed to let the natives hunt over their land as before, and reserved a tract on the east side of the harbor for the Quinnipiac to cultivate. The tribe settled on the east side of the bay in a reservation which covered an area of about 1,200 acres.

From: *The Quinnipiac Tribe*, Tony Pasqualoni, New Haven Free Public Library, Jan. 28, 1999

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Reservation status allowed them to continue to live in familiar territory and to obtain such items as warm clothing and cooking utensils from the British. They retained some freedoms, but were clearly restricted and dominated: by the presence of a Puritan agent, by laws requiring them to get authorization from the colonial government before letting any outsiders reside among them, by a disturbing policy that allowed the English "exclusive and unlimited access to [reservation] meadow and timber."

About six years after the Connecticut reservation's inception, the leaders of tribes within Massachusetts's boundaries were induced to give up jurisdiction over their lands, and thus possession itself, as far as New England authorities were concerned, and committed themselves and their subjects to live under the colony's "just lawes and orders." Such "just lawes and orders" passed in the years immediately following included fines for not wearing hair cut "comely, as the English do," and the death penalty for denying "the true God."

Beginning in 1646, a Puritan named John Eliot even established "praying towns" for Christianized Indians. These were precursors of the highly controlled Indian reservations of the mid- to late-nineteenth-century West, although not as poverty-stricken, isolated, and isolating. At the price of their freedom and cultures—at the price, in other words, of their very identity—Indians gained a somewhat protected and secure place within the new order, where they would be "civilized" with missions and schools.

From: IN A BARREN LAND: AMERICAN INDIAN DISPOSSESSION AND SURVIVAL  
By Paula Mitchell Marks (Denver Post)

Often times these reservations were far from the nation's historic homeland. There, they were oppressed in general for being Indians and specifically for clinging to their traditional beliefs, speaking their national language, or for speaking out against or resisting their oppression. The Lenape were moved from one reservation to the next. By 1820-21, they were being moved from the White River in Indiana and the Piqua Reservation in Ohio across the Mississippi to the White River in Missouri. C.A. Weslager explains in *The Delaware Indian Westward Migration*, (1979):

In their trek to the Mississippi, the Delawares had a number of their finest horses stolen by whites. Many of the old folks fell sick; children developed measles and pneumonia; some of the children and adults died. Adverse weather in the winter months impeded their progress; children suffered from frozen fingers and toes. After heavy rains in the spring, the trails were impassable, and during the hot summer, swarms of biting flies plagued both horses and people.

The Lenape did not reach their new reservation on the James Fork until the late fall of 1822, to find that no provisions were waiting for them. Poor white squatters were already there ahead of them claiming the best farmland on the 260 sq. mile reservation, and game was scarce. Chief Anderson had some 2,100 people and 1,500 horses, all sick and hungry, to feed and shelter, so he sent the hunters out onto the plains after antelope and buffalo, which led to trouble with the Osage Indians, and the chief's son and other warriors were killed in skirmishes with the Siouxian tribe. Both whites and Indians stole their horses, and the Lenapes almost came to war with the nearby Miami refugees, who had been their good friends back in Indiana.

The government's solution was to decide that the white squatters should pay a nominal rent to the Nation, or what was left of it. Besides the Lenapes that remained in the eastern homeland or had migrated to the north to live among the Abnaki or Iroquois or disappeared into Appalachia, three bands were in Ontario on the Thames River, and another was in

TV, movies, and "gangsta rap" glorify the criminal lifestyle and violence. All this is intended to promote fratricide, suicide and dysfunction within the oppressed communities and supply "prison fodder" to the growing prison-industrial complex.

Building prisons in rural areas not only helps to deconcentrate the Blacks and other inner city ethnic minorities, but it subsidizes the rural communities who can claim the inmates as population in applying for federal grant monies and revenue sharing. In Dannemora, NY, for example, the prisoners more than double the local population.

The indigenous nations of the East have long been "deconcentrated," particularly the Lenape and Eastern Cherokee. Many of our people are located in the very rural communities where prisons are being built. Our growing sense of nationhood and ability to work together will enable us to play a supportive role to the struggles on the inside. The struggle for Native spiritual rights within the iron houses, will school many brothers in the discipline of working together for common goals and sustaining organization. All of the issues on the inside are reflective of the issues we face on the outside, though sometimes in a more concentrated form.

Prisoners coming out can be a powerful asset to our nations, if they used their time wisely to prepare themselves. All kinds of people end up in prison for all sorts of reasons. Generally they come from the poor class, have a low level of formal education, and often learning disabilities, as well as physical disabilities and emotional problems. Many come from dysfunctional families, and in general had "two strikes against them" before going to prison. Having been consigned to the "junk pile" by American society, many feel they have nothing left to loose, and there is "freedom" in that, the freedom to begin anew.

Joining our national restoration movement can give them a fresh start, where they can win acceptance based upon their commitment and willingness to go the distance. Restoring our nation is a massive undertaking against serious obstacles. It will take years of hard work and struggle. The beneficiaries will be the generations yet unborn. To dedicate yourself to this is to acquire a "Life With A Purpose." It requires a leap in understanding, and going beyond self-centeredness.



#### WE ARE NOT SEPARATE

*We are not separate beings, you and I.  
We are different strands of the same Being.*

*You are me and I am you  
and we are they and they are us.*

*This is how we're meant to be,  
each of us one,  
each of us all.*

*You reach out across the void of Otherness to me  
and you touch your own soul!*

*- Leonard Peltier (Prison Writings)*

prison-industrial complex and the military-industrial complex, and it is important to keep them racist and "patriotic." They make prime "cannon fodder."

The "War on Drugs," launched by President Reagan in the mid-eighties, has been fought on interlocking international and domestic fronts.

At the international level, the war on drugs has been both a cynical cover-up of U.S. government involvement in the drug trade, as well as justification for U.S. military intervention and control in the Third World.

Over the last 50 years, the primary goal of U.S. foreign policy (and the military industrial complex) has been to fight communism and protect corporate interests. To this end, the U.S. government has, with regularity, formed strategic alliances with drug dealers throughout the world. At the conclusion of World War II, the OSS (precursor to the CIA) allied itself with heroin traders on the docks of Marseille in an effort to wrest power away from communist dock workers. During the Vietnam war, the CIA aided the heroin producing Hmong tribesmen in the Golden Triangle area, in return for cooperation with the U.S. government's war against the Vietcong and other national liberation forces, the CIA flew local heroin out of Southeast Asia and into America. It's no accident that heroin addiction in the U.S. rose exponentially in the 1960s.

Nor is it an accident that cocaine began to proliferate in the United States during the 1980s. Central America is the strategic halfway point for air travel between Colombia and the United States. The Contra War against Sandinista Nicaragua, as well as the war against the national liberation forces in El Salvador, was largely about control of this critical area. When Congress cut off support for the Contras, Oliver North and friends found other ways to fund the Contra re-supply operations, in part through drug dealing. Planes loaded with arms for the Contras took off from the southern United States, offloaded their weapons on private landing strips in Honduras, then loaded up with cocaine for the return trip.

Weapons went both ways. The fully automatic weapons used by gangs, and depicted so profusely in TV and movie dramas, stand in stark contrast to the fact that almost never is a legally-purchased automatic weapon used in the commission of a crime: Not even converted legally-purchased semi-automatic weapons the anti-gun lobby is so concerned about. These weapons come directly, or indirectly, from the military-industrial complex.

A 1996 exposé by the *San Jose Mercury News* documented CIA involvement in a Nicaraguan drug ring which poured thousands of kilos of cocaine into Los Angeles' African-American neighborhoods in the 1980s. Drug boss, Danilo Blandon, now an informant for the DEA, acknowledged under oath the drugs-for-weapons deals with the CIA-sponsored Contras.

U.S. military presence in Central and Latin America has not stopped drug traffic. But it has influenced aspects of the drug trade, and is a powerful force of social control in the region. U.S. military intervention, whether in propping up dictators or squashing peasant uprisings, now operates under cover of the righteous war against drugs and "narco-terrorism."

Government involvement in drug trafficking is not just about funding the "Shadow Government" and "covert operations," or even just that it is an important source of investment capital for the major banks and corporations, illegal drugs are a key component of the strategic criminalization of a generation, particularly of the ethnic minority youth. Blandon and the CIA not only dumped "crack" on LA, they armed and supplied both "Crips" and "Bloods," and set a nation-wide gang war in motion.



Wisconsin. Another large group was in Arkansas among the Cherokees on the Red River, some had dropped off in Illinois and were living on the Kaskaskia River, and some were at Cape Girardeau, where they had crossed into Missouri some twenty-five years earlier. A few were still back in Sandusky, Ohio. Chief Anderson tried to get everyone to hold together while at the same time petitioning the government to find them a better piece of land. After eight years, they were given a new reservation in Kansas, more than 200 miles away. The treaty specified that that this was to be the permanent home of "the whole Delaware Nation." "Permanent" lasted until 1868, when this reservation was taken away, and the majority were relocated to the Cherokee Reserve in Oklahoma.

The Cherokee and the other "Civilized Tribes" of the South were not far behind the Lenape and others forced to move to west of the Mississippi. Following the Indian Removal Act of 1830:

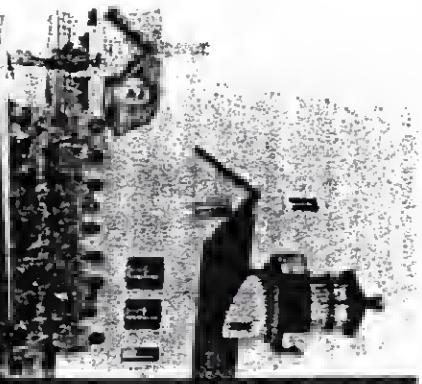
The U.S. government sent in 7,000 troops, who forced the Cherokees into stockades at bayonet point. They were not allowed time to gather their belongings, and as they left, whites looted their homes. Then began the march known as the Trail of Tears, in which 4,000 Cherokee people died of cold, hunger, and disease on their way to the western lands.

By 1837, the Jackson administration had removed 46,000 Native American people from their land east of the Mississippi, and had secured treaties, which led to the removal of a slightly larger number. Most members of the five southeastern nations had been relocated west, opening 25 million acres of land to white settlement and to slavery.

Federal law made the practice of Native American religions illegal from the Dawes Act of 1887 until Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978. In 1895, nineteen religious elders of the Hopi were jailed in Alcatraz for petitioning the government to reverse the Allotment Act. Other Indian spiritual leaders were subjected to harassment, beatings, imprisonment, or even murder, for persisting to practice and teach the old ways.

Thousands of Indian children were taken from their families and sent to Christian-run boarding schools, where they were generally ill-treated, and often beaten for speaking in their native tongue or praying in the traditional way. Medical care was poor or non-existent, and many hundreds of them died. Some were killed by abuse, and many later reported that they were sexually exploited. Some of these mission schools are still in business.

"Christian Fascism" is not new to America. It was official government policy to "Christianize" the American Indians. The Puritans of New England talked about America being the "New Zion" and founding their "City Upon the Hill," a phrase resurrected by President Reagan in a famous speech, by which they meant an "Earthly Jerusalem, or theocratic dictatorship."



Hopi at Alcatraz Island pictured with original lighthouse. (Mennonite Library and Archives)

The Indians, who had welcomed them with hospitality and helped them to adapt to the "New World," were viewed as "lost creatures out of Hell" and "monsters shaped and faced like men," and their rituals of thanksgiving were seen as "devil worship." The fact that the indigenous belief system contained no concept of a devil, did not phase the pious Puritans, who professed to believe in reason.

The massive numbers of deaths caused by contact with the Europeans, (who disdained taking off their clothes to bathe or wash them, and contracted all sorts of diseases from living in close proximity to their domesticated animals and their feces), was viewed as "divine providence." John Winthrop, governor of the Mass. Bay Colony, sent a letter to a friend in England which included: "But for the natives in these parts, God hath so pursued them, as for 300 miles space the greatest part of them are swept away by the smallpox which still continues among them. So as God hath thereby cleared out title to this place, those who remain in these parts, being in all not 50, have put themselves under our protection..."

The *true* origin of "Thanksgiving Day" is *nothing* close to the made-up tale in the U.S. History book. Here's the *true* historically accurate origin of what is now called Thanksgiving Day: "Thanksgiving" did not begin as a great loving relationship between the pilgrims and the Wampanoag, Pequot and Narragansett people. In fact, in October of 1621 when the pilgrim survivors of their first winter in Turtle Island sat down to share the first unofficial "Thanksgiving" meal, the Indians who were there were not even invited! There was no turkey, squash, cranberry sauce or pumpkin pie. A few days before this alleged feast took place, a company of "pilgrims" led by Miles Standish actively sought the head of a local Indian chief and an 11-foot high wall was erected around the entire Plymouth settlement for the very purpose of keeping Indians out! Officially, the holiday we know as "Thanksgiving" actually came into existence in the year 1637. Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony proclaimed this first official day of Thanksgiving and feasting to celebrate the return of the colony's men who had arrived safety from what is now Mystic, Connecticut. They had gone there to participate in the massacre of over 700 Pequot men, women and children, and Mr. Winthrop decided to dedicate an official day of thanksgiving complete with a feast to "give thanks" for their "victory." (Battling Racism - The Native Circle)

Some effort was made to "Christianize" the New England Indians, but as Hans Koning explains in *The Conquest of America: How the Indian Nations Lost Their Continent*, (1993):

part reflects the old Roman axiom: *Divide and Conquer, Divide and Rule*. It involves spreading the oppressed people around and breaking up the large concentrations in the inner cities. Changing HUD policies was one aspect, another has been building prisons in rural areas. Eve Goldberg and Linda Evens point out in, *The Prison Industrial Complex and the Global Economy*, (1995).

This monumental commitment to lock up a sizable percentage of the population is an integral part of the globalization of capital. Several strands converged at the end of the Cold War, changing relations between labor and capital on an international scale: domestic economic decline, racism, the U.S. role as policeman of the world, and growth of the international drug economy. In creating a booming prison/industrial complex, and the prison industrial complex is rapidly becoming an essential component of the U.S. economy...

...to justify the use of tax dollars for the repression and incarceration of a growing percentage of our population. The omnipresent media blitz about serial killers, missing children, and "random violence" feeds our fear. In reality, however, most of the "criminals" we lock up are poor people who commit nonviolent crimes out of economic need. Violence occurs in less than 14% of all reported crime, and injuries occur in just 3%. In California, the top three charges for those entering prison are: possession of a controlled substance, possession of a controlled substance for sale, and robbery. Violent crimes like murder, rape, manslaughter and kidnapping don't even make the top ten...

As with the building and maintenance of weapons and armories, the building and maintenance of prisons are big business. Investment houses, construction companies, architects, and support services such as food, medical, transportation and furniture, all stand to profit by prison expansion. A burgeoning "specialty item" industry sells fencing, handcuffs, drive detectors, protective vests, and other security devices to prisons...



Shift change, Clinton prison, Dannemora, NY.

The economically depressed rural areas are anxious to have the jobs created by prison construction, staffing and servicing. Rural white "rednecks" are important to both the

combined-to much of what they now wish to view as the territoriality of the United States proper.

Finally, they are aware that to acquire even a semblance of legal title, title which stands a chance of passing the informed scrutiny of both the international community and much of its own citizenry, the U.S. must honor its internal treaty commitments, at the very least. Herein lies the dilemma: In order to do this, the U.S. would have to return much of its present geography to the various indigenous nations holding treaty-defined and reserved title to it (and sovereignty over it). The only alternative is to continue the violation of the most fundamental rights of Native Americans while pretending the issues do not exist. Of course, this is the option selected-both historically and currently-by U.S. policy-makers.

"AIM has consistently held that it seeks lands held by the U.S. and various state governments (such as National and State Parks, National Forests and Grasslands, Bureau of Land Management areas, etc.) as well as major corporate holdings within the treaty areas. Small landholders would be allowed to remain and retain their property under "landed immigrant provisions" or, in some cases, naturalization." - Ward Churchill

The Lenape Nation has thousands of acres of unceded land in our historic homeland that fits this criteria, including the huge Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, state gamelands and parks. This land was outright stolen, not purchased. By rights, we should be given it back and be allowed to form our own, independent country on it. Nothing is going to be conceded without a struggle. To win we must be strong, spiritually, morally, politically, culturally, and in every other way, as people and as a nation. We must also win public opinion and support both internationally and in America, and particularly in our historic homeland, and most particularly among the people living in our unceded territory.

A Nation stands upon its warriors, and so the Lenape National Restoration Movement (LNRM) has begun by sponsoring the Red Heart Warrior Society (RHWS), to recruit and spiritually orient warriors in the Lenape traditions and motivate them to serve the people and uplift our nation and our family of nations. We have adopted "Three Spearheads of Outreach" to youth, to veterans and to prisoners. Youth and veterans seem pretty obvious choices for a warrior's society, but why prisoners?

For complex reasons, the rulers of America have opted to restructure the old Constitutional Republic along imperial lines and balance it on the "Twin Pillars of Oppression," the military-industrial complex and the prison-industrial complex. With globalization of the economy, it is not profitable to employ a large section of the American working class. It is more profitable to farm out work to Third World countries.

It is also necessary to maintain a large "army of the unemployed" to keep wages low and/or serve as "cannon fodder" for the military. The solution to this paradox has been a strategy of "Spatial Deconcentration" and the "Criminalization of a Generation." The first

It may seem odd that a people who make religion so important in their daily lives would show little interest in converting the heathen, but they saw the Indians more as obstacles to their City on the Hill than as human beings. There was a religion in which only the few Chosen are saved, and even the converted (the so-called "Praying Indians") were kept outside their community. Nonetheless, the early days gave some foundation for the traditional stories of mutual help and friendship.

Up and down the Atlantic Seaboard, the Lenape "Grandchildren" demonstrated the true spirituality of our people by extending hospitality to the strangers from across the "Great Water." And everywhere the Christians showed the true nature of their "spirituality" and the "God" they truly worship...Greed. The Anglicans of Virginia were no different than the pious Puritans, despite the welcome shown Arthur Barlowe, who in 1584 captained the first voyage to come ashore in the land of the Powhatans. He recorded: "We were entertained with all love and kindness and much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, such as live in the manner of the golden age."

But when the colonists got too greedy in their demands for more land and treated the chief and people disrespectfully, the Powhatans stopped feeding their uninvited guests and stayed away. The starving colonists were about ready to pack up and go home, when the new governor, Thomas West, the Lord de la Warr, showed up with reinforcements and new orders from the London Company, whose mercenary he was. The Company suggested that if the Indians would not sell, a policy of conquest should be employed, that the leaders should be imprisoned, and the medicine men, whom they called "murderers of souls," should be exiled or killed.

The Indians were lured from the forest to a gala festival with music and dancing in a field, where they were slaughtered. George Percy, De la Warr's 2<sup>nd</sup> in command, recorded in his journal that he "allowed his men to throw the Indian queen's children in the river and shoot out their brains for sport." Konig writes:

Lord de la Warr wanted to end that action by butchering the queen alive but Percy said that a day of so much bloodshed should end with "an act of mercy," and he had her killed by the sword instead - thus his own report spells it out.

De la Warr is remembered for his name having been given to the State of Delaware, to the Delaware Bay and the Delaware River, and to the Lenape who lived along them and their descendants. It would be more honorable and polite to address us as "Heathen Savages," thank you very much!

To both the Puritans and Anglicans, the indigenous peoples were "Canaanites" to be "smitten" and destroyed by "God's Chosen." Any vicious act or trick was justified, even sanctified. What they don't tell the children in the Disney version of history is that Pocahontas was kidnapped from her husband to be a hostage used to intimidate her father, Captain John Smith, who had been a mercenary in Europe, Africa and Asia before coming to America, recorded that these experiences, "taught me to subdue the wild savages in Virginia." De la Warr came directly from the genocide that was being perpetrated in Ireland by the British imperialists.

The Dutch Protestants held similar views. The Lenape liked and respected Peter Minuyt, the first governor of New Netherland, and Captain David DeVries, who treated fairly with them. But successive governors earned their enmity. The first Dutch settlement planted along Delaware Bay, called Swuvendate ("Valley of Swans"), was comprised of thirty-two men in the employ of the *patroons*, (wealthy landlords), besides trading with the Indians, they were to engage in farming and whale hunting.

At first they were well received, but after a local chief was killed for having taken a piece of tin with the Dutch company's crest painted on it, that had been nailed to a post, to make tobacco pipes; his warriors swept down on and wiped the settlement out. Instead of taking reprisals, Minuyt did an investigation then offered his apologies and gave presents. After being fired by the Dutch, Minuyt was employed by a Swedish company to establish New Sweden on the lower Delaware. Many of the settlers sent by the Swedes were actually Finns, the indigenous people of Scandinavia. Unlike most other Europeans, they got along quite well with the Indians. Instead of fighting up with the Swedish soldiers, they spread out and built their log cabins among the Indians, often taking Lenape wives. Michael Caron explains in *Delaware Street Rag, First Song: XENGWKAON*. Verse V: The Quoddas and Other Magic, Lawrence, Kansas (2000):

Their Swedish masters classified many of the Finns sent to New Sweden on the first ships as "criminals". Most came from central Sweden, where they had been imported earlier to open up the forests for settlement. In 1640 the most nomadic "outlaw" element of these imported Finns, known as the "Kivesmälet", were systematically rounded up and deported to America. In the minds of the Germanic peoples of the 17th century, whether Danes, Swedes, or English, the Finns were generally viewed as among the most uncivilized and superstitious inhabitants of the European World. Even the early Norse kings forbade their people to visit the eastern land of the wizards and sorcerers. The Finns had a reputation, long before they arrived in America, as a rowdy rebellious fringe folk. The Lutheran Church had hardly begun to penetrate the traditional shamanism of those Finns who were most drawn to New Sweden. The Lenape became simultaneously teachers and pupils of these same notoriety-alien Finns.

The ancient sauna in those days still held great spiritual significance in the lives of the Finnish peasants. It was one of several powerful bridges that brought the Finns so effortlessly into the cultural world of their Lenape hosts. The Lenape had a remarkably similar preoccupation with their *Prinuwakan*, the sweat-lodge ceremony. As in most Native American cultures the sweat bath ritual had an important and multifaceted place in the Lenape way of life. For Finns and Lenape alike sweating was more than hygiene or medicine or even religion in any limited sense. Both cultures sprinkled water on hot stones to create their steam baths. Both burned herbs on the hot rocks while offering their



Imagine if the other countries realized how much denial of this "basic human right" was a cornerstone of the U.S.'s domestic policy going back to the beginning and continuing to this day. Even the most basic things, like being able to attend a sweat lodge ceremony or wearing a medicine bag are denied many prisoners in America. It boils down to: *if we get our spiritual orientation back, we are going to restore our nations along traditional and not capitalist lines. And if we do that, we are going to press to get our land back and expand our nations and thus the consciousness of the American people that there is an alternative direction for America based on a different political economy rooted in the non-exploitative traditions of America's indigenous heritage.*

Listen to the words of the late Kwame Toure' (formerly known as Stokley Carmichael). In a speech delivered at the Yellow Thunder demonstrations in Rapid City, South Dakota, on October 1, 1982, he said:

We are engaged in a struggle for the liberation of ourselves as people. In this, there can be neither success nor even meaning unless the struggle is directed toward the liberation of our land, for a people without land cannot be liberated. We must reclaim the land, and our struggle is for the land, first, foremost, and always. We are people of the land.

So in Africa, when you speak of "freeing the land," you are at the same time speaking about the liberation of the African people. Conversely, when you speak of liberating the people, you are necessarily calling for the freeing of the land.

But, in America, when we speak of liberation, what can it mean? We must ask ourselves, in America, who are the people of the land? And the answer is-and can only be-the first Americans, the Native Americans, the American Indian. In the United States of America, when you speak of liberation, or when you speak of freeing the land, you are automatically speaking of the American Indians, whether you realize it or not. Of this, there can be no doubt.

Those in power in the United States understand these principles very well. They know that even under their own laws aboriginal title precedes and preempts other claims, unless transfer of title to the land was is or agreed to by the original inhabitants. They know that the only such agreements to which they can make even a pretense are those deriving from some 371 treaties entered into by the U.S. with various Indian nations indigenous to North America.

Those in power in America know very well that, in consolidating its own national landbase, the United States has not only violated every single one of those treaties, but that it remains in a state of perpetual violation to this day. Thus, they know they have no legal title-whether legality be taken to imply U.S. law, international law, Indian law, natural law, or all of these

Bush, would like prisons turned into industrial parts. "I want them to make prisoners work 10 hours a day, six days a week," says Gramm. "I want to enter into contracts with major manufacturers so that we can produce component parts in prisons now being produced in places like Mexico, China, Taiwan, and Korea." It is an outrage to make any worker anywhere compete against prison labor, further accelerating the worldwide race to the bottom.

Due in large part to the destruction of basic manufacturing and the prevalence of institutionalized racism, African-Americans make up a shockingly disproportionate segment of the prison population. While African-Americans make up 12 percent of the total U.S. population, they comprise 51 percent of prisoners. The return of convict labor is a reminder of the ugly practice of subjecting the Civil War South's black population to a new form of slavery following the Civil War. It is no coincidence that much of the leading opposition to the prison-industrial complex comes from the African-American community.

The renewed misuse of prison labor coincides with an expanding number of businesses with interests in prisons themselves. The most blatant example of private enterprise involvement in corrections is privately operated prisons. Some 27 states contract with private prisons and nearly 90,000 inmates are held in for-profit prisons. . . .

The use of prison labor is an affront to working people throughout the world. The exploitation of incarcerated persons provides profits to a few at the expense of the jobs, wages, benefits and working conditions of those outside prison walls. The corporate bosses continue to demonstrate their willingness to abuse captive labor in the ruthless pursuit of their interests. We must end this injustice and declare absolutely our unwillingness to compete with or condone the use of prison labor.

From a resolution by 67<sup>th</sup> UE Convention, 2002-2003

Statistics tend to downplay the number of Indians in the prison system. In some cases it is not even an option for classification, and generally, White Indians are classed as "Whites," Black Indians are classed as "Blacks," and Spanish-speaking Indians are classed as "Hispanic." Only BIA recognized Indians are generally classed as "Indians." This becomes an issue in prisons because some officials and some Indians want to restrict the Native spiritual circles to "recognized Indians." There is a problem when people who only want to play "Indian" to get a haircut exemption or to amuse themselves flood the programs.

An even bigger problem is the hiring of New Age phonies as contract chaplains and outside "spiritual advisors." It doesn't matter if they are "certified Indians" or not. We have to understand the role of chaplains as "missionaries," and the role of religio in colonialism. Their role is to disarm the people spiritually and politically. Same as it ever was!

The last thing they want to see is authentic, traditional Native spirituality become accessible to inmates. Just as the last thing the government wants to see is the indigenous nations restoring themselves and playing a role in the family of nations. The U.S. Department of State has an Office of International Religious Freedom that monitors religious persecution and discrimination worldwide. The U.S. is a party to international treaties that "guarantee" religious freedom as a basic human right and as a "source of stability for all countries."

prayer songs. They both used switches to stimulate the body's circulation while bathing. They even shared the primal knowledge of how incredibly invigorating a roll in the snow or a plunge through the ice into a cold stream could be. Like plunging out of the womb itself. Like being born again. The sweat represented life and renewal in both cultures. Another cultural parallel was the "Sacred Drum" The Finns called theirs *quodhas*. Canon writes:

...more than a century after New Sweden had ceased to exist in America there were still image drums being hidden from the Swedish authorities deep in the forests of my native country. There were orders to confiscate the *quodhas* from my ancestors as part of the effort to stamp out shamanistic beliefs among the backwoods peasants. The Swedes were in the final stages of establishing their Lutheran Church as the official religion of Finland. The *quodhas* was a sacred object. It was the heartbeat of the people. To the Swedes silencing the *quodhas* became a priority in "civilizing" the Finns.

Another common denominator was the beliefs and rituals associated with the "Celestial Bear."

No peasant from the backcountry of Finland in that day could pass the bear skulls the Lenape suspended high in the trees and not instantly think of home. The *Karhu*, the bear of earth and sky, was every bit as central to the religion of the common folk of Finland in the era of their exile as it was among all the Algonquian peoples of North America at that time. Bear meat was the most sacred of foods. Neither the Lenape nor the Finns would speak the bear's name directly. They both resorted to elaborate euphemisms to avoid speaking this most sacred animal's name. Like the Lenape themselves, bears were most commonly addressed as the "Grandfathers". This avoidance of directly identifying the bear was as important to Finns as much as it was to Lenapes... Both the Finns and the Lenape believed in using divination as the only legitimate way to locate bears used in their religious ceremonies. Each saw the ritual killing and eating of bears as the primary spiritual act of their respective religions. To each there was an intimate connection between the Great Bear in the night sky, Ursula Major, and the creature whose skin and skull and flesh they took as sacraments.

The Swedes did send along a Lutheran missionary, Rev. John Campanius, who founded a mission on Tinicum Island (south of Philadelphia), by the Swedish fort and the Governor's log mansion. Campanius did take an interest in converting Indians, traveled among them, and made a study of the Lenape language. In 1656, he presented the King of Sweden with a translation of Martin Luther's *Little Catechism* into Lenape, eight years before John Elliot's translation of the *Bible* into an Algonquian dialect for his "Praying Indians." The first edition contained an addendum with a vocabulary and Lenape phrases and idioms. He had modest success among the Indians and Finns, and performed a few marriages between them.<sup>12</sup>

The Dutch eventually overpowered the Swedes, and then the English overpowered the Dutch, and eventually Delaware, Pennsylvania, and western New Jersey came under the proprietorship of William Penn, an English Quaker. Penn had an altogether different take on Indians than his fellow Christians. To him, the Lenape were the "lost tribes" of Israel, and with them he sought to make a "Covenant with God." That is how he looked at the "Great Treaty" he made with the Lenape *sakema*, Tamanehd, in the *Unami* ("Downriver") Lenape capital of *Shackamaxon* ("Where Chiefs Are Made"), which is

now the Kensington district of Philadelphia. That is how the Lenape have regarded the Great Treaty too.

William Penn came to the treaty unarmed and without soldiers, and Philadelphia was built without a wall or a garrison. The Lenape warriors took the pacifist Quakers under their protection, and the Quaker Meeting of Philadelphia recorded that in the first fifty years of its existence, "not one of its members was ever harmed by an Indian." Penn was loved by the Lenape. He sat in councils, took sweats and danced with them. Tamandend was loved by the people of Philadelphia, as well. They called him "King Tammany," and the legends about his goodness, humility, honesty, kindness and courage grew with each passing generation. In particular he was loved by the common people, whom he treated no differently than he did the wealthy and influential leaders of the city.

Repeated plagues of smallpox, tuberculosis, measles and other diseases, as well as alcoholism, killed many Indians, and prompted many others to move away from the white settlements. There were problems with the settlers' livestock that got into the Indians' gardens, and sometimes ended up to the Indians' stew pots. The Indians' dogs were also a menace to the wandering livestock. In New Netherland and New England such problems had led to wars. Penn's promise of unconditional religious freedom and instructions that the Indians be treated fairly and accorded their rights, and his prohibition on selling them alcohol, made Pennsylvania the most liberal and peaceful colony, at least in Penn's lifetime.

The "Holy Experiment" worked too well in that Philadelphia quickly became the largest city in the thirteen English colonies. Those Penn entrusted to carry on his policies exploited his trust and that of the Indians. But a precedent had been set and a Covenant had been made.

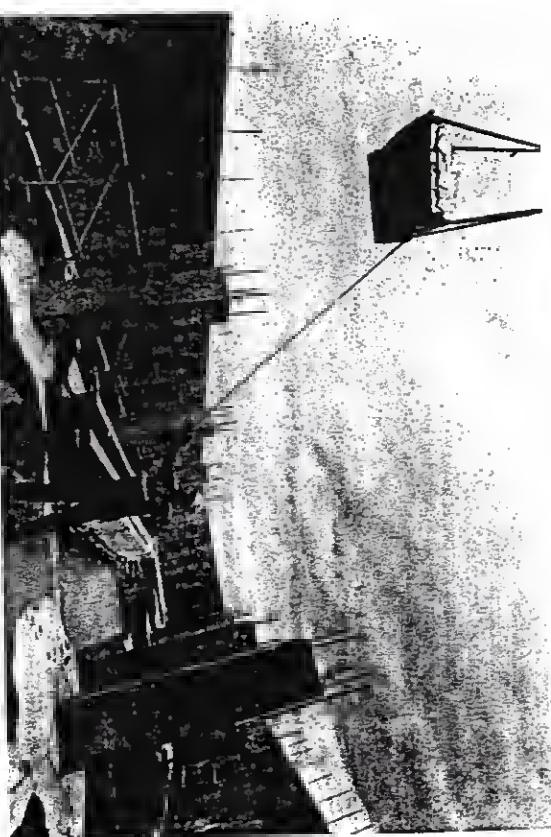
The Philadelphia Quakers also introduced another innovation, the penitentiary. Feudal kings and lords had had their dungeons and prisons, their hangmen and torturers, but these had little, if any, positive effect on crime. Penn had himself been imprisoned in England for being a Quaker, as had many of the Society of Friends. As noted by the Canadian Corrections Department's web site:

The penitentiary was first introduced by the Philadelphia Quakers in 1789 as a more humane alternative to the harsh punishments of the time. The Quakers believed that a sentence of imprisonment, served under conditions of isolation, with opportunities for work and religious contemplation, would render the offender "penitent" and reformed. In New York, the penitentiary sentence was adopted out of a belief that work and training would lead to a reduction in the crime rate. The idea of sentencing offenders to long terms of imprisonment spread next to England as an alternative to exiling offenders to the colonies.

The basic idea was to segregate prisoners, give them a Bible, a work area and a little garden, and regular visits by a spiritual advisor. When the states took over this approach, it did more to change rhetoric than orientation. Belief in punishment and the tradition of using convicts as slave labor, were never abandoned. Today's criminal justice system is a jumble of contradictions as different interests push their agendas. The term "penitentiary"

men it is about 1,100 per 100,000. During the past two decades roughly a thousand new prisons and jails have been built in the United States. Nevertheless, America's prisons are more overcrowded now than when the building spree began, and the inmate population continues to increase by 50,000 to 80,000 people a year."

*The Prison-Industrial Complex by Eric Schlosser – The Atlantic Monthly, 1998*



New prison construction, Franklin County, N.Y.

Like the military-industrial complex, the prison-industrial complex is an interweaving of private business and government interests with the purpose of both profit and social control. Prison inmates represent an ideal workforce for business, with almost no wages, no traditional health benefits, no absenteeism, no vacations and no unions. This potential workforce — for the most part, young and able-bodied — is big, and getting bigger. The United States imprisons more people than any other country in the world; today, nearly 2 million Americans are behind bars in federal, state or local custody. That's a half million more prisoners than there are in China, which has nearly five times our population. The U.S. incarceration rate is now 690 inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents and has increased on average 5.8% annually since 1990. This is six to ten times the rate of most European countries, which also enjoy lower crime rates. This enormous prison population represents a huge pool of cheap labor that directly threatens the wages and conditions of workers employed outside of prison walls. Prison-industry partnerships are up 200 percent since 1979. Thirty-seven states participate in these arrangements, which put prisoners to work in a variety of manufacturing and service jobs. For years prisoners in California booked flights for TWA. Microsoft uses convicts to ship Windows software. Honda pays \$2 an hour to prison labor in Ohio to do jobs that UAW members once did for \$20 an hour...

Advocates of prison labor say that exploiting convicts doesn't undercut American workers because this unmanufacturing and service work is done overseas anyway. They say that the U.S. can best compete with China and its prison labor by expanding prison labor in this country. Former Texas Senator Phil Gramm, a close ally of President George W.

has largely been dropped in favor of "correctional institution," probably because it brings to mind old James Cagney, Humphrey Bogart movies. Not much "penance" is going on, nor much "correction" for that matter. According to the Department of Justice, studies of recidivism report that, "the amount of time inmates serve in prison does not increase or decrease the likelihood of recidivism, whether recidivism is measured as 'parole revocation, re-arrest, reconviction, or return to prison.' Also, 'department of corrections' data shows that about a fourth of those initially imprisoned for nonviolent crimes are sentenced for a second time for committing a violent offense. Whatever else it reflects, this pattern highlights the possibility that prison serves to transmit violent habits and values rather than to reduce them."

Americans remain sold on prisons, however, one out of four prisoners in the world is in America. Check out these statistics:

"The United States has the highest prison population rate in the world, some 686 per 100,000 of the national population, followed by the Cayman Islands (664), Russia (638), Belarus (554), Kazakhstan (522), Turkmenistan (489), Belize (459), Bahamas (447), Suriname (437) and Dominica (420). However, more than three-fifths of countries (62.5%) have rates below 150 per 100,000. (The United Kingdom's rate of 139 per 100,000 of the national population places it above the midpoint in the World List; it is now the highest among countries of the European Union.)"

"The rate of incarceration in prison and jail in 2002 was 702 inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents -- up from 690 at midyear 2001. At midyear 2002, 1 in every 142 U.S. residents were in prison or jail."

"While the State sentenced prison population rose 0.3% during 2001, the sentenced Federal prison population grew 9.2%. The Federal prison system added 11,465 sentenced prisoners -- the equivalent of more than 220 new inmates per week." "Prisoners sentenced for drug offenses constitute the largest group of Federal inmates (57%) in 2000, up from 53% in 1990 (table 20). On September 30, 2000, the date of the latest available data in the Federal Justice Statistics Program, Federal prisons held 73,389 sentenced drug offenders, compared to 30,470 at yearend 1990."

"Over 80% of the increase in the federal prison population from 1985 to 1995 was due to drug convictions."

"In 2000, drug law violators comprised 21% of all adults serving time in State prisons -- 251,100 out of 1,206,400 State prison inmates."

"The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that in 1999, the nation spent \$146,526,000,000 on the Federal, State and Local justice systems. In that year, the United States had 1,875,199 adult jail and prison inmates. Based on this information the cost per inmate year was:

-- Corrections spending alone: \$26,134 per inmate  
-- Corrections, judicial and legal costs: \$43,297 per inmate  
-- Corrections, judicial, legal and police costs: \$78,154 per inmate"

"Since the enactment of mandatory minimum sentencing for drug users, the Federal Bureau of Prisons budget has increased by 1.954%. Its budget has jumped from \$220 million in 1986 to \$4.3 billion in 2001."



"According to the US Census Bureau, the US population in 2000 was 281,421,906. Of that, 194,552,774 (69.1%) were white; 33,947,837 (12.1%) were black; and 35,305,318 (12.5%) were of Hispanic origin. Additionally, 2,058,883 (0.7%) were Native American, and 10,123,169 (3.8%) were Asian."

"Currently there are over 26,000 Native Americans in adult correction facilities including state and federal prisons, as well as jails both within and outside of tribal jurisdiction. While Indians are roughly 1% of the US population, Indians make up 1.6% of the population of prisoners in the Federal Prison System and 1.3% of prisoners in state systems. Comprising roughly 10% of the population of South Dakota, according to the most recent SD DOC statistics, Native Americans comprise 21% of male prisoners and 34% of incarcerated women. Numbers vary from state to state, with Minnesota's population 1.2% Native American, yet Indians represent nearly 7% of prisoners in that state."

"In 1990, of the 739,960 sentenced prisoners in Federal and State prisons, 370,400 were African-American. By 2001 the number of African-Americans had grown to 562,000 out of a total of 1,206,400 sentenced prisoners."

"One in three black men between the ages of 20 and 29 years old is under correctional supervision or control. 1.46 million black men out of a total voting population of 10.4 million have lost their right to vote due to felony convictions."

"Assuming recent incarceration rates remain unchanged, an estimated 1 of every 20 Americans (5%) can be expected to serve time in prison during their lifetime. For African-American men, the number is greater than 1 in 4 (28.5%)."

"We have embarked on a great social experiment," says Marc Mauer, the author of the upcoming book *The Race to Incarcerate*. "No other society in human history has ever imprisoned so many of its own citizens for the purpose of crime control." The prison boom in the United States is a recent phenomenon. Throughout the first three quarters of this century the nation's incarceration rate remained relatively stable, at about 110 prison inmates for every 100,000 people. In the mid-1970s the rate began to climb, doubling in the 1980s and then again in the 1990s. The rate is now 445 per 100,000; among adult

## Twelve Principles of Indigenous Homeland Security



1. SOVEREIGNTY IS A LAND QUESTION. A nation can only exercise its right of sovereignty over a specific territory – in its historic homeland.
2. THE LAND BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE TO THE LAND. The nation exists to hold the land in trust for the people and to provide for their common security and welfare. It is the duty of the nation to preserve the land and the creatures upon it from destruction so that they will sustain future generations of the people.
3. SOVEREIGNTY MEANS BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER. Governments only have the right to such power as their people freely give to them. Ultimate sovereignty resides with the people.
4. THE LANDS OF THE INDIGENOUS NATIONS ARE HELD IN COMMON. No nation has the right to sell or concede its lands, or another's, or the sovereign rights of the people, which are their birthright.
5. THE INDIGENOUS NATIONS ARE A FAMILY OF NATIONS WITH TRADITIONS OF HOSPITALITY, SOLIDARITY, RESPECT AND MUTUAL COOPERATION. It is customary to follow the traditions of a nation within its homeland and for the host to show hospitality to the guest. An injury to one nation is an injury to all. We are all People of the Earth, descended from the same first man and first woman and are entitled to be treated with respect and to have our culture and customs treated with respect. Each nation has an obligation to contribute to the common good of all and work together towards solutions to problems and the unity of the nations.
6. WITHOUT JUSTICE THERE CAN BE NO PEACE. As individuals and as nations, we must stand tall for social justice to further the cause of peace.
7. LOVE IS THE ULTIMATE GUARANTOR OF JUSTICE AND PEACE. Realizing that we are a family, we must strive to make our family functional, supportive, uplifting, and loving.
8. EACH NATION HAS THE RIGHT TO PRESERVE ITS OWN LANGUAGE, CUSTOMS AND SPIRITUAL TRADITIONS.
9. EACH NATION CONSISTS OF ITS LIVING, ITS DEAD, AND ITS GENERATIONS YET UNBORN.
10. EACH NATION HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHOM ITS MEMBERS ARE. Nations have the right of naturalization and of expulsion.
11. EACH NATION HAS THE RIGHT TO EXPECT THE LOYALTY AND SUPPORT OF ITS MEMBERS. All have the right to express their views, but not to sabotage or betray the cause of the nation.
12. CREATOR'S WILL AND THE HIGHEST INTERESTS OF HUMANITY MUST BE THE STARS THAT GUIDE US IN THE RESTORATION OF OUR NATIONS. It is Creator's will that we share his blessings and live together in love and peace.

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